

Free Schools—Are they in Danger? If so, from what Sources?

SPEECH OF HON. HENRY W. BLAIR

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, JULY 29, 1876.

The House having under consideration the bill (H. R. No. 748) introduced by Hon. GILBERT C. WALKER, of Virginia, to apply the proceeds of public lands to the education of the people—

Mr. BLAIR said :

Mr. SPEAKER: This bill, lacking some useful safeguards, is substantially a measure prepared by Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR and passed by the House of Representatives of the Forty-second Congress on the 8th day of February, 1873, by a nearly solid republican majority, against the bitter and almost unanimous opposition of the democratic members of the House. The customary arguments employed by that party against the power of the nation, as such, to assert its sovereignty and its right to live and to be and to exercise the necessary functions of growth and self-defense whenever the interests of the nation in their massiveness and grandeur seem as a mighty whole to preponderate over the authority and supremacy of its subdivisions, known as the States, were urged with great vehemence to defeat this most emphatically beneficent measure and to protect the consolidated ignorance and prejudice of the country, which are the basic elements of the falsely styled democratic party of our times, in their secure position as the enemies of popular education and the destroyers of free schools.

In this Congress an honorable democratic carpet-bagger, now from Virginia, has had the temerity, and I may be allowed to add, if he will consent to receive the homage of an humble member from his own native North, the intelligent and manly and patriotic independence to introduce and, with the co-operation of his republican associates upon the committee, to advocate upon the floor of this House the cause of the common school. It is a hopeful sign; yet the gentleman well knows that he is identified in political action, with that great party which, in the section of our country to which *he* has transported the elevated and inextinguishable impulses of the early home of the town meeting and of the common school, has from

time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, acquired and maintained its power by suppressing freedom of speech and of the press, and by prohibiting under penalties, proscription, mob violence, and death the education and consequent general diffusion of intelligence, happiness, prosperity, and power among the whole people of the land.

But, sir, I welcome the fact that even a *democratic carpet-bagger* (note that he *was* a carpet-bagger, however—the South is under great obligations to carpet-baggers) has dared to make his record in favor of free schools, and the enactment of a law which will have some tendency to promote their prosperity, (although as the bill gives, and I am glad of it, most of the proceeds of the lands to the South,) there is method in this idiosyncrasy, as a most hopeful omen, and ardently pray for the day when the native and ruling public men of the South, whose desperate warfare upon this primal institution of the Republic, during all the vicissitudes of the century, has been her chief curse, shall recognize the great truth that liberty is born only in the mangers of God's poor, cradled in the common school, and made mighty and perpetual by the exercise of a suffrage unrestricted by color, race, and condition in life, and universal as the impress of His image who hath made of one blood all the nations of the earth. And although the passage of this bill can cost the Southern leaders no sacrifice of principle or policy, and therefore involves them in no embarrassment in waging their home warfare upon schools, yet I shall be heartily glad if the hope of political capital, or any other motive shall compel the passage of this bill at the present session.

I am one of those who have no faith, no hope in the future of this country only so long, and so far as the people are both intelligent and upright; nor is it possible to preserve the honesty and simple virtues of republicanism without the means of early mental discipline are provided for all; and if necessary their use must be made compulsory by the successive

generations, during the tender and impressible years of childhood and youth. Honesty and sincerity are consistent with the most dangerous prejudices and the most cruel and nefarious purposes, in public and private life. No man is fit to be a sovereign—as sovereigns we all are in theory—unless he has the power to think continuously and to reason consecutively, and is able to acquire and has acquired the common knowledge which surrounds him pertaining to economic and political affairs. If his powers are disciplined, and he knows the *facts* he will reason from correct premises, and his moral sense or conscience will obey the dictates of reason. And thus a sound morality must and will exist as the offspring and inseparable consequence and companion of intelligence and disciplined mental powers. This is primary truth so universally conceded that I shall be accused of wasting time in its statement. Yet I believe that wise statesmanship often recurs to general principles, and that there is no better reading for a legislator, and for the people themselves, who are the primary law-givers of the land, than the eloquent and elevated sentiments of the fathers, as they are embodied in the grand though simple bills of rights and earlier constitutions and declarations, which have come down to us from the resplendent luminaries who live eternal in the horizon of our history.

Our system of government is based upon the necessary position that knowledge is power. Government itself is only another name for power; it is the *supreme power* in the State. That power which controls nations must be either brute power or intelligent power. We are compelled to choose between these forms, or rather principles of control. We have learned through the sad records of six thousand years of almost universal tyranny and misery, that no free government is long perpetuated, unless its force is distributed among all individuals, or unless their essential rights are preserved and protected in constitutions or customs, which constitute iron restrictions upon the encroachments of the executive power of the State. We have learned that the tyranny of a mob or of an ignorant multitude is far worse than all the possible excesses of a single despot. We are thus driven to the absolute necessity of making the controlling element of our Government universal intelligence and morality which results from it, or of ultimately yielding up our system of universal suffrage—that is, the distribution of sovereignty to all—and the adoption of the despotic theory of government. I do not mean that there is not more or less of freedom and security to the rights of men in forms of government where the ballot is either unknown or is rarely exercised by the people.

Arbitrary power is oftentimes partially dethroned and placed in subjection to some great, broad limitation, in accordance with which alone will the people consent that the reigning power exist at all. Such was the grand achievement which wrenched the great charter from the unwilling hands of King John at Runnymede, and other similar victories of popular over regal authority, which are embodied and

are perpetually active in the constitution of England, and other limited monarchies of the world. But what I mean is this, that our system, being based upon the universal distribution of the sovereignty among all the individual men of the nation, and that power once distributed necessarily remaining so, until revolution collects it again and vests sovereignty in an aristocracy or in a single despot, *each man* must be *qualified* by disciplined reason, virtue, and knowledge for the correct exercise of the power which is vested in him, or he is unfit to possess it; and it must logically follow either that he and such as he must surrender it or that by the gradual spread of ignorance and incompetency to govern universal sovereignty will surrender to the control of the few who *do* possess that knowledge, which, directed for selfish and despotic ends, enables them to triumph and riot in the enslavement and miseries of mankind.

Sir, the one first indispensable thing is *the power to think*, and whatever people has that power, and most of it, will be most free. Virtue results from it, because virtue is the child of conscience, and a safe conscience must be instructed by intelligence. The common school, then, is the basis of freedom, and the system is an absolute condition precedent, to the spread and perpetuity of republican institutions throughout the country and the world. Ignorance is slavery. No matter what are the existing forms of a government, ignorance will reduce them to the one form of despotism as surely as gravity will bring the stone to the earth and keep it there. Knowledge is liberty, and no matter what the forms of government, knowledge generally diffused will carry liberty, life, and power to all men, and establish universal freedom so long, and only so long, as the people are universally made capable of its exercise by universal intelligence. It is a fundamental error to think that freedom is simply the exercise of one's rights. Freedom is the *power* to exercise them. Freedom is *sovereignty*. It is not mere happiness; it is the power to command the conditions of happiness. The veriest tyrant might permit his slaves to possess more of the actual material comforts and fruitions of life, than could be commanded by the free spirit of an unconquerable people; but it is only a universally intelligent people who can know its rights, and knowing dare to maintain them.

The centennial year of the Republic is a fitting time to examine our actual condition. The process is necessary. It is of an importance transcending all questions which relate to finance and internal and foreign or party policy. It is an examination of the heart of the Republic, of the sources of its life.

Of what use is it to raise, discipline, and embattle armies, if the blood of the Republic itself is corrupted and she must ultimately fall, perhaps under the blows of her own military enginery, controlled by an ambitious and conquering usurper? Why vex the seas with our navies, gallant and invincible, if they are only to spread the fame of *his* power, where the ensign of the Republic once typified and vindicated the universal rights of man? Why bur-

den a people with taxation, why extort revenues from prostrate industries to eke out the life of the institutions of America, if they are already struck with the palsy of increasing and remediless decay?

Questions of taxation and of the appropriation of revenues in the administration of the Government are highly important, and the people do well to examine closely the conduct of their servants, both as to the purposes for which their money is used and the fidelity of its expenditure. A pure and upright civil service, the contrivance and introduction of a system which shall by its power of selection of the best men for office, and by its stability as an institution of the country, resist and survive the assaults and fluctuations of party greed and aggrandizement, is a matter of great concern to the American people. Whatever relates to the financial interests of the Government and of the people imperatively challenges our attention.

The question of immigration from the Orient, over the Pacific, to the young Commonwealths of the West, and the indefinite increase and possible numerical supremacy of a people who may either absorb our domain without assimilation with our body-politic, or by their ignorance and vice debauch and degrade our countrymen and our institutions, is a mighty problem, looming upon us like a portentous cloud and demanding solution.

Shall our commercial relations with the countries north and south of us be enlarged, and shall the channels of internal transportation be multiplied and improved; shall our foreign policy be timid and retiring, like a bashful boy, or firm and just, and if necessary aggressive? All these and many other great questions press constantly upon us for that intelligent consideration which alone can result in right action; and the like of these are ordinarily the absorbing issues before the people. But such questions are all of secondary importance, and depend upon others, the answer to which is fundamental whenever and however they are raised.

This generation has solved one such fundamental question. The principle asserted itself, as a principle always *will* assert itself, that this country could not exist permanently "half free and half slave;" and the irrepressible conflict went on until negro slavery, the joint sinful creation of the North and of the South, was abolished in the tremendous struggle of arms and its crimes were expiated in the blood of a million of our precious sons.

But, sir, the principle involved in that contest was the same which we have already considered: shall freedom be universal, or in other words, shall the sovereignty be vested in all men who live under its flag? The ignorance of vast masses had made them weak. Cupidity and the love of ease and power had enslaved them, *because* they were weak. It will always be thus. It is human nature. But human nature, as it becomes intelligent, will know its rights; it will resist oppression, and as God is just, the avenger cometh.

I believe, sir, that we are approaching another crisis which involves the existence of the Re-

public. It is in itself capable, but not sure, of peaceful solution. I believe that now we are rapidly nearing the time when the American people will vote *directly* upon the question, Shall the common-school system, which is under God the source and defense of American liberty, continue to exist? I believe it to be the great underlying question which is involved in the pending presidential election. I do not refer to the sectarian aspect of the subject at all. This country may be only too thankful for any influence which will *educate*, by increasing the power to think and get knowledge, whether it comes from priest or infidel or saint. A blow struck at the unity, and independence, and complete, unsectarian impartiality of the public-school system, by any man or sect or party, is a blow at our freedom, but not necessarily fatal; and wherever there is nothing better, in the name of liberty, let all those who will, build up *any* institutions, which make war upon ignorance and develop, however imperfectly, the souls of men.

I would gladly see the Constitution of the country, and of every State, so amended that the common school shall be forever cleansed and protected from all sectarian bias and influence, but I believe that we are now menaced by a more serious danger to our free schools than any which arises from the efforts of a religious sect, however threatening such efforts may be; and further, that all necessity for such an amendment to our Constitution, which I admit to be great, arises from the *alliance* of effort, between sectarianism and one of our great political parties. That party embodies and organizes all the elements of war upon our common-school system, and the spirit of sectarianism is only one of the influences which it absorbs. Sectarianism is the Hessian, but the real war is between the malign forces of arbitrary power and tendency, which are native to the democratic party as it is controlled to-day, and the spirit of universal liberty, as developed and fostered by the common school. I do not mean to be understood that the democratic party does not contain vast numbers of men who are as patriotic and intelligent, and as strong friends to universal education as any American citizen can or need to be, or that in many States and localities its action as a party is not friendly to the education of the people; but I do mean to say that everywhere it is behind its great opponent, the republican party, in its devotion to the interests of education, and that as a national party, compared with that opponent, and as now controlled, and sure to be controlled in the near, and probably in the remote future, it is the foe of the common school; that its triumph at the polls is the chief danger which now threatens American liberty; and that it is so, because its triumph is the temporary, if not permanent, victory of caste power, which will improve its renewed opportunity everywhere in the country, and especially in the South, which is still the great battle-ground of political ideas, to strengthen and perpetuate itself, in its only possible way, which is by maintaining and increasing the political weakness of the great body of the people, upon whose ignorance its own supremacy is impregably built. Is it not

a matter of history that the democratic party has been the machine of slavery for at least a generation? In what other political party are now to be found the ever-living influences which degrade and enslave mankind? These influences have in the republican party their natural foe. Its birth was rebellion against them. Its career has been one stern battle, even unto blood, against the spirit and institutions of arbitrary power. That party is the only effectual champion of freedom in this country to-day. If defeated and deprived permanently of power, the days of the Republic are numbered.

Let us examine this matter more closely, for if these assertions are untrue they are terribly unjust. No other charge can be made against any party so serious and, if false, so calumnious as that it is the foe of liberty, or even that it is not her *best friend*. And here and now I denounce the charge, sometimes made against northern men, that in the examination of this subject any spirit but one of the most catholic good-will toward all individuals and sections of the country, consciously influences my head or my heart. I believe in the honesty, integrity, and patriotism, blinded though in many respects I think they be, of the representatives of southern sentiment upon this floor. I believe in the honesty and patriotism of all large masses of men. They always design to do right. There has been no great war, either of ideas, or of arms, or of both, in which the combatants participated by their own consent, unless each side believed itself to be right; and by their motives must all individuals be judged and rewarded or condemned. I believe that many an honest and chivalrous soul has laid down his life in the cause of oppression and outrage to whom the infinite God of justice and love has extended the welcome, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord." But no such toleration can be extended to wrong *principles*. Upon them the largest philanthropy and the broadest comprehensiveness of view will wage the most implacable war. Only the man who, watching through the retributions of history, has been taught the inflexible nature of the principles which God has made, but whose operation He never suspends nor turns aside, can fully separate the cause from its supporter and destroy the one while he preserves the other. It is in this spirit that I would consider my main proposition, namely: the national democratic party, as now controlled and likely to be in the near and probably in the remote future, is the enemy of the common-school system of America.

The first question, then, which arises is, how is the democratic party now controlled, and how is it likely to be controlled, in the near and probably in the remote future? To this question an answer is patent to every man who can call the roll of States. The great mass of the party, nearly its entire organized strength, as far as control of the Government is concerned, is now and must remain in the Southern States, and in that element of southern society which was the confederacy, and in which the tendencies, prejudices, and principles that created the confederacy, are

still the vehement motive power. At the North the democratic power is subordinate. Whenever it carries an election it is not from its own strength, but through the weakness or crimes of its antagonists. Whenever public conscience is aroused by an appeal to the underlying principles which control the public judgment and sway the popular heart, the democratic party is as a reed shaken in the wind, and it falls prostrate before the indignant wrath of a free and virtuous people, as did the Dagon Tweed, upon the dishonest threshold of Tammany Hall. Here and there is a great and justly honored name which remains in the organization to carry on the work of purification within the party; but with all their great powers and indefatigable efforts to make brick without straw, they are powerless to cure the deep-seated leprosy of the organization to which they belong, and from which the masses of the North are emancipated. But they carry occasionally a northern State; and with the South reclaimed by the agency of violence and fraud to its ancient allegiance and substantially a unit, these fifteen States do and will enable the democracy to renew its war upon the age in which we live and the liberties of mankind. What would this great party be without the South united upon the issues of the war? It could not live through one session of Congress nor survive another general election. And why is the South *united*? Why does she not divide upon industrial, economic, and local issues as do the Northern States? She has the same diversity of interests as they. The growing of cotton at the South, is no more an exclusive industry than that of grain at the West. New domestic policies are pressed upon her attention, and she has no reason for combination as a section but the promptings of the old spirit and affinities which produced the war. Tilden captures the convention and the nomination and the mass of the democratic electoral vote, if not its entirety, when he has received the endorsement of the ex-confederate power of the South.

What is there to the majority of this House of Representatives, if you exclude the leading spirits of the confederacy from the capitol? They could not even adjourn. Who constitute the never-failing element of the democracy in the Senate? But it is idle to waste time in proving that the South is the backbone of the democratic party. Should these southern leaders, in good faith, accept the principles which conquered at Appomattox, what would be left of the democratic party? To ask this question is to answer it: nothing. It could not even die, with a respectable demonstration. If this is so, and if the democratic party must conquer, if at all, by the restoration of southern supremacy in this country, it becomes at once *the* vital question to the American people, whether that party is still controlled by the spirit of caste—that spirit which wars upon freedom from necessity, since one of them must die. Upon this point the evidence is overwhelming.

First, she sends the same men to the national councils who represented, and *because* they represented, and were in their own persons, the southern cause in the legislative hall, the cabi-

net, the forum, and the bloody field. Coke has just been elected to the Senate from Texas, because he was a violent foe to the Government and people of the United States, while Hancock, the pacific native southerner, his able and statesmanlike competitor, was defeated *because* he refused to swear allegiance to the confederacy, and rend the flag of his country. In public speech General Hancock claimed the election, because he was true to his country; and as a public reproof he was defeated by the sworn electors of Texas upon the very ground that neither in time of war nor in this time of false peace was nor is he the true representative of his people and State. The brilliant and philosophical Representative from Mississippi, [Mr. LAMAR,] elected as a true representative of ultra, though more politic, southern opinion, ventures in his place on this floor to denounce the crime of murder in appropriate terms, and although he tempers his disclaimer with counter-charges against the North, yet *because* this Hamburg massacre was committed to promote southern success at the polls, and in pursuance of the policy, by and through which, power has been recovered in every southern State but one, judging from the tone of the Mississippi press, even LAMAR is already almost an alien in the house of his friends, and only the success of the republican party at the North can save to the country the possibilities of good which lie in this man, so misunderstood alike by political friend and foe. There is to-day from the late confederate army military ability enough in the House of Representatives of this country to give competent leadership to 500,000 men; and there are in the State of Mississippi alone 75,000 men who openly drill as in time of war in every county and almost every town all over the State, skilled soldiery armed with the latest pattern of the most deadly rifles of modern times, and officered by men who know war, and how to make it. Thus is the peace preserved and elections carried in Mississippi and in other States. Order reigns in Warsaw, and, except where electioneering murder is required to conquer another republican State, "they make a desert and call it peace."

We have no reason to wonder at these things; they are to be expected; yet they are none the less deplorable in their causes and consequences. Why should it not be so? Why will it not continue to be so, unless the strong arm of *power*, wielded by the gigantic force of the public opinion of the country, and voiced in the next election, prevents? The nature of southern society cannot be broken up in four years' war. It is not in human nature to change so suddenly. The constitution of the soul does not thus readily yield. The men who are what they are, because nature and circumstances have made them such, cannot be thus easily reconstructed even if they would. It is impossible. I had almost said it is *unmanly* that their hearts should suddenly gush with tenderness toward the men and influences which have, in the hands of God, destroyed their power and crushed their half-barbaric form of civilization. I tell you that those hearts do not *gush* any. It is folly for the northern mind to befool itself

with the hope that this generation, or their children, and it may be even their children's children, will ever kiss the hand that smote them. I am not sure that I could, were I one of them; and one cannot help respecting, even when most determined to crush, that stubborn devotion of the soul which still prays and works for the success of the lost cause, by restoring the old supremacy of class and capital over the labor, both white and colored, which lies helpless, under guard of the serried ranks of the white-liners of these Southern States. Consider for a moment how this must be if the democratic party—that is, if the ex-confederate element of the South—succeeds at the next election.

The essence of the institution of slavery was ignorance; therefore, laws were enacted and enforced and customs established in conformity with the spirit of the institution.

The education of the black, even when a freedman, was prohibited by law and the infliction of severe pains and sometimes of even savage cruelties. Religious assemblies could be held only under the *surveillance* of the whites. The great mass of the whites, not belonging to the landed aristocracy, were coupled with the slaves and were merely a substratum or lower order, almost like the Helots of Sparta, upon which the dignity, fortune, and supremacy of the ruling class were supported and perpetuated. Political power was wholly in the hands of three hundred thousand men, who owned and controlled the soil and the labor of the South, and from their own ranks, or by the designation of their class, all the incumbents, emoluments, and positions of power were selected and filled. Speech and the press were dumb, unless subservient. The confidential intercourse of the mails of the General Government, was violated under the forms of legal usurpation. Religion came to the rescue and proved the divinity of the accursed institution; and thus all the elements of aristocratic tyranny, even to chains upon the soul, were combined to preserve and intensify that ignorance, without which the fabric of their oppressed power would have fallen in a day. The common school would have peaceably destroyed the institution of slavery in five years at any time since its introduction upon our soil. These false ideas were universally taught, and this policy cherished and enforced, for two generations. There could be but one result. The mental and moral constitution of both races and all conditions was deeply affected. The lower orders felt and believed in their inferiority, while the dominant class, in all sincerity, assumed superiority as an axiom, and its exercise as an inalienable right. Conscientiously believing in their divine right to control, as they did control with despotic sway, the whole structure and all the interests of society, how could these kings become suddenly converted into lambs of republicanism, by the harsh agency of war? Their mental and moral constitution could not be thus suddenly and violently reconstructed. The spirit might be overwhelmed, but no Anglo-Saxon having inherited and tasted the delights of dominion could ever

truthfully claim that *force* had converted him into a genuine republican. It is idle to expect that the old instinct for power can be instantly suppressed by the voluntary effort of the men who were first the slave-holding oligarchy, then the fighting confederacy, and now are the body, and brains, and leadership, of the democratic party. The faintest degree of political philosophy will convince any man that this must be true. It is no disparagement, but rather is it honorable to the stamina of our southern brethren, that this is so. No men ever fight with such desperation and resource for the preservation and, when lost, for the recovery of power as an aristocracy. I think that is a lesson of history. It cannot be then, in the nature of things, that the leopard has changed his spots any more than the Ethiopian his skin, in consequence of the war.

It would be reasonable then to conclude that these southern democrats are plotting the recovery *within* the Union—where they mean, not merely “to stay,” but to rule—of the essential elements of that superiority which they lost by forcibly withdrawing from it. I do not mean that they will seek to restore the *form* of slavery, certainly not for many years, but its substance they may and mean to seize by preserving the intellectual degradation and consequent subjection of the ignorant mass below them, while they are freed from the burdens which a due regard to the preservation of their property compelled them to bear, when slavery was established or recognized, as one of the institutions of the State. And if they have this purpose, there is only one way in which they can possibly accomplish it, and that is by the destruction or the enfeeblement of the common school. Knowledge will destroy their supremacy and therefore they must destroy knowledge. Now it must be remembered, that I am not claiming that they have or can fully accomplish this end. Counteracting influences of invincible power are in operation, and whatever may become of the negro, the southern *white* yeomanry will some time be republican. I only assert, and it is a statement of direful gravity, that the energies of these men are desperately enlisted to destroy, or at least retard the development of, the common-school system, which alone can confer capacity upon citizenship. And it is *the* solemn interrogatory of this campaign, Shall the Republic transfer the tremendous power of the national administration into the hands of those, who, by the destruction of the common schools, would in twenty years make a republican form of government impossible?

I ask attention, first, to the evidence which follows in regard to the great mass of ignorance and absence of the means of popular education in this country, and particularly in the South, where the caste power is predominant, and, second, to the evidence demonstrating the settled purpose of that power to substantially destroy the common schools.

The results of the census of 1870 in regard to the condition of popular education in the whole country are full of warning and demonstrate the necessity of the greatest vigilance and effort,

in the North as well as in the South, in order to preserve the schools and even the present ratio of intelligence to ignorance; and I wish first to invite the earnest attention of the House and of the country to statistics of a more general nature, compiled from the census returns, and which, in my judgment, demonstrate the truth that the greatest dangers environ the future of this Republic; dangers, all the more formidable, because of our centennial complacency, resulting, it may be, from our pleasant habit of using the American eagle only for screaming purposes, and of comparing ourselves with ourselves, which good authority declares to be not wise.

These tables I have taken in part from the census report, and in part have myself carefully compiled, from data therein given.

THE ACTUAL ILLITERACY OF THE COUNTRY.

There are in the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas an aggregate of 1,354,205 illiterate persons *over ten years* of age. In the Pacific States and in the Territories there are 102,594. In the Southern States there are 4,187,735, distributed as follows:

	Census returns.	Thirty-three per cent. increase.	Total population.
Delaware	23,100	30,800	125,015
Maryland.....	135,495	180,660	788,894
District of Columbia.	28,719	38,292	131,700
Virginia.....	445,774	594,698	1,225,163
West Virginia.....	81,490	108,653	442,014
Kentucky.....	332,127	442,826	1,321,011
North Carolina.....	396,993	529,332	1,071,361
Tennessee	364,668	486,224	1,258,520
South Carolina.....	290,331	387,108	705,606
Georgia.....	468,576	624,768	1,184,109
Alabama.....	382,957	510,609	996,992
Florida.....	71,798	95,730	187,748
Mississippi.....	312,751	417,001	827,922
Missouri.....	222,385	296,513	1,721,295
Arkansas.....	133,317	177,756	484,471
Louisiana.....	275,742	367,652	726,915
Texas.....	221,512	298,682	818,579

These census returns are made up from the admissions of the persons themselves, and careful examination leads Horace Mann to estimate the real number to be at least 33 per cent. greater than the figures of any given census enumeration; and the experience of educators has led to the universal adoption of the same rule. Even then the figures, however black, are too flattering, for very many have such trifling ability to read and write as to be practically incapable of the acquisition of knowledge from books.

There is thus a total of actual illiterates over ten years of age in this country of.... 7,524,712

In the Northern and Northwestern States, (of whom a large percentage are of foreign birth)..... 1,804,273

In the Pacific States and in the Territories 136,772

In the Southern States and District of Columbia, (nearly all natives).. 5,573,646

By the same census the total population of these divisions was—

Northern States..... 23,541,977
Pacific States and Territories..... 1,004,601
Southern States..... 14,009,315

Total population United States.... 38,555,983

Percentage of illiterates ten years of age and over to total population of same age, both sexes and all classes.

Alabama.....	54.19	California.....	7.37
Arkansas	39.02	Connecticut.	6.95
Delaware	24.95	Illinois.....	7.38
Florida.....	54.76	Iowa.....	5.45
Georgia.	56.06	Maine.....	3.86
Kentucky.....	35.71	Minnesota.....	7.99
Louisiana.....	52.46	New Hampshire..	3.81
Maryland.....	23.55	New Jersey.....	8.03
Mississippi.....	53.91	New York.....	7.08
North Carolina ..	51.67	Ohio.....	8.86
South Carolina....	57.64	Oregon.....	6.84
Tennessee.....	40.94	Pennsylvania.....	8.56
Texas.....	38.82	Vermont.....	6.84
Virginia.....	50.10	Wisconsin.....	7.38
Average	45.27	Average.....	6.98

There are in the whole country 2,052,000 ignorant women, most of whom are or may become mothers of children and trainers of families.

Of the 2,000,000 illiterate voters in the United States 1,700,000 are in the Southern States. These States elect thirty-two of the seventy-four Senators and one hundred and nine of the two hundred and ninety-two Representatives in Congress.

In Alabama 53 per cent. of the *voters* are illiterate. Ignorance controls the election of the Legislature, members of Congress, the executive, the judiciary, and composes more than half of every jury; but who controls *ignorance*? The old slave caste of the South. The same is true in Mississippi, Georgia, and Florida. In Kentucky 28 per cent. is illiterate; in Maryland 22; in Delaware 24, or one-fourth of all power is in these ignorant masses, and they are in the hands of the political Jesuits of the South.

It is a deadly fact that the ignorance of the southern masses wielded by an educated caste, if they once get possession of the Government, can govern and enslave the whole country,

Commenting upon these startling revelations, the able and indefatigable Commissioner of Education says in his annual report for the year 1871:

“But these tremendous figures do not show the extent of this threatening evil, for the measure of future adult illiteracy is found in the present record of the

number of children growing up without a knowledge of the rudiments of learning.

“Were an invading hostile army to threaten our frontiers the whole people would rise in arms to repel them; but these tables show the mustering of the hosts of a deadlier foe, a more relentless enemy, already within our own borders and by our very fire-sides; a great army of ignorance growing ever stronger, denser, and more invincible.

“Ten years without schools for children will insure an adult generation of ignorant citizens, who in losing the knowledge of will have lost the desire for letters. Athens sank rapidly till its transcendent fame became only a tradition. Hostile barbarians plunged Rome into a long night of ignorance.”

Here I would gladly stop; but it is better to know the worst and to provide for it. The index-finger of reason points to the rising generation for the fate of the Republic. A people once degenerating from a condition of refined civilization may be *destroyed*, but will never *reform*. Duty, then, compels us to study the following statistics, because they involve the problem of national life. They are the cold mathematical statement of the future which we transmit to those who will kiss our lips when cold in death and decorate our graves. The children of the Republic have a right to receive from us the elements and possibilities of a happy existence, since *we* have compelled them to live. Examine these figures, and tell me if in one-half century of time, unless new agencies are created and old ones quickened for the education of this people, existence in America is likely to be a blessing or a curse?

Latest returns for year 1875 are as follows, from a personal examination of the records of the Bureau of Education:

Statement showing the number of children between the ages of 5 and 21 in the Southern States, the average attendance and the number of school days in the year.

States.	Ages five to twenty-one; total.	Average attendance.	Whole number of days of school, whole year.
Alabama	406,270	110,253	86½
Arkansas.	184,692	42,680	.....
Delaware.....	.....	.....	140
Florida.....	94,522	28,306	132
Georgia.....	394,037	96,680	.....
Kentucky	437,100	159,000	100
Louisiana	274,688	.....	.....
Maryland	276,120	69,259	187
Mississippi.....	318,450	106,894	140
Missouri.....	738,431	192,904	99
North Carolina.....	348,603	97,830	50
South Carolina.....	239,264	.....	100
Tennessee	426,612	136,185	100
Texas.....	313,061	*125,224	78
Virginia.....	482,789	103,927	112
West Virginia.....	179,387	79,002	92½

* Estimated.

Arkansas raised <i>per capita</i> by taxation....	\$0 62
Georgia raised <i>per capita</i> by taxation.....	1 10
Tennessee raised <i>per capita</i> by taxation....	1 64
South Carolina raised <i>per capita</i> by taxation.....	1 70
Virginia raised <i>per capita</i> by taxation	1 93
Maryland (more than any other of the Southern States).....	5 01
Montana Territory.....	8 42
Massachusetts.....	22 00

This table includes all between the age of five and twenty-one years, while those of 1870

include those between five and eighteen years. It is difficult to see, considering this circumstance and the quite considerable increase of population in some of the States since 1870, (being in Texas from 818,599 to more than 1,200,000, or 50 per cent. increase,) whether the schools have lost or gained during the last six years; but local legislation has recently become very hostile to them. It is a pertinent question how long they could live with the southern democracy dominant in all departments of the National Government.

STATISTICS SHOWING THE COMPULSORY IGNORANCE OF THE RISING GENERATION.
Table showing number of children between five and eighteen years of age and school attendance in the whole country.

All classes.	School population.			Attending school.			Not attending school.		
	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.
Male.....	5,264,635	814,576	6,086,872	3,326,797	88,594	.....	.....	.....	.....
Female.....	5,157,929	806,402	5,968,571	3,087,943	91,778	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	10,422,564	1,620,978	12,055,443	6,414,740	180,372	6,596,466	*4,007,824	†1,440,608	‡5,458,977

* Or 38 per cent.
† Or 88 per cent.
‡ Or 45 per cent.

Table showing condition of children in the Southern States.

		School population.			Attending school, all classes.			Not attending school, all classes.			Percentage not attending school.		
		All classes.	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.	Total.	White.	Colored.	Total.	All classes.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	(Male	173,273	91,989	81,274	31,098	7,502	77,139	120,463	144,341	265,837	77	66	90
	(Female.....	169,703	89,798	79,882	30,226	8,313							
	(Total...	342,976	181,787	161,156	61,324	15,815							
Arkansas.....	(Male	84,645	64,515	20,118	30,138	2,930	62,573	69,077	33,816	102,920	62	54	82
	(Female.....	80,847	61,350	19,482	26,650	2,854							
	(Total...	165,492	125,865	39,600	56,788	5,784							
Delaware.....	(Male	20,185	16,376	3,809	9,862	663	19,965	13,623	6,219	19,842	49	42	83
	(Female.....	19,622	16,017	3,605	8,908	532							
	(Total...	39,807	32,393	7,414	18,770	1,195							
Florida.....	(Male	32,873	16,985	15,888	4,195	2,241	12,778	24,652	26,466	51,119	80	74	85
	(Female.....	31,024	15,921	15,102	4,059	2,283							
	(Total...	63,897	32,906	30,990	8,254	4,524							
Georgia.....	(Male	206,026	110,345	95,676	33,796	4,898	77,493	151,217	178,795	330,023	81	69	95
	(Female.....	201,490	108,014	93,470	33,346	5,453							
	(Total...	407,516	218,359	189,146	67,142	10,351							
Kentucky.....	(Male	230,491	190,737	39,736	91,225	3,520	181,225	202,265	71,918	270,314	59	53	89
	(Female.....	224,048	185,031	38,984	82,278	4,182							
	(Total...	454,539	375,768	78,720	173,503	7,702							
Louisiana.....	(Male	112,520	59,036	53,395	20,542	5,467	51,259	78,035	96,662	174,955	70	66	90
	(Female.....	113,594	59,182	54,304	19,641	5,609							
	(Total...	226,214	118,218	107,698	40,183	11,076							
Maryland	(Male	122,932	94,795	28,137	51,668	3,808	105,435	90,473	48,545	139,019	56	48	86
	(Female.....	121,522	93,439	28,082	46,093	3,866							
	(Total...	244,454	188,234	56,219	97,761	7,674							
Mississippi.....	(Male	141,412	66,248	75,084	17,139	2,768	39,141	95,872	143,821	239,859	85	73	96
	(Female.....	137,587	63,027	74,475	16,264	2,970							
	(Total...	278,999	129,275	149,559	33,403	5,733							
Missouri.....	(Male	294,316	273,204	21,102	165,792	4,557	324,348	220,288	33,147	253,455	43	41	78
	(Female.....	283,487	262,344	21,125	149,468	4,523							
	(Total...	577,803	535,548	42,227	315,260	9,080							
North Carolina.....	(Male	182,421	113,413	68,800	28,357	5,491	65,301	169,716	124,426	294,629	84	76	91
	(Female.....	177,509	110,224	67,045	25,511	5,928							
	(Total...	359,930	223,637	135,845	53,868	11,419							
South Carolina.....	(Male	118,509	47,734	70,557	12,731	8,339	41,569	69,472	122,641	192,346	82	73	87
	(Female.....	115,406	46,430	68,957	11,961	8,534							
	(Total...	233,915	94,164	139,514	24,692	16,873							
Tennessee.....	(Male	217,922	161,721	56,185	58,524	4,938	120,710	207,468	101,396	309,023	71	65	90
	(Female.....	211,670	156,061	55,602	51,790	5,453							
	(Total...	429,592	317,782	111,787	110,314	10,3							

Having shown the alarming condition of education, or rather of compulsory ignorance, in the country generally, and especially in the Southern States, I invite the attention of the House to evidence tending to prove that the governing white class at the South—who were the slaveholders and rebels, and since then have been and now are the real leaders of the democratic party of the country, dictating its policy in peace and in war, both foreign and domestic, for sixty years, until to-day, and sure so to do for years to come, if that party should unfortunately continue to live—have always been hostile to popular education, as the one deadly enemy to the institution of slavery while it lasted, and as the great and, in fact, only real obstacle to the restoration of their old supremacy over labor, black and white, at home, and their political ascendancy in the nation at large; and that the triumph of the democratic party will endanger, if not destroy, the free schools at the South, restore the domination of the privileged land-owning class or caste, and reduce all labor of whatever race to a practical servitude more advantageous to the old masters than slavery itself, restore the policy which produced the rebellion, and which must, if pursued, ultimately divide and destroy the country.

I assume, because no one is ignorant of the fact, that previous to the war there was no common public school system in the Southern States. There was some legislation upon the subject, but no adequate provision was made for the children of the whites, and it was a crime even secretly to teach a black child to read. The northern soldiers were the first common school teachers who could claim that they were doing a legitimate business in the Southern States. Multitudes of the freedmen learn to read in their contact with the Army; and wherever the Army held quiet occupation for any considerable time the spelling-book was as common as the book of tactics. Schools sprang up spontaneously. Benevolence sent teachers from the North in large numbers. The Freedmen's Bureau, the discontinuance of which by the Government, in consequence of her own clamor and that of her northern allies will, in history, appear to have been a direct blow at the salvation of the South, met, so far as possible, the pressing wants of eager youth and age for knowledge, which to the poor untutored minds of the liberated freedmen was the badge of liberty. General Banks established the first colored school at New Orleans; although previously General Butler had enabled Mrs. Brice to re-open her lone private school, which in obedience to direct intimation from Heaven, as it seemed to her mind, she had opened, at the risk of her life, in September, 1860, but almost immediately closed in obedience to the outcry of the mob. And so it was everywhere all over the South that the Union forces got permanent foothold. There is nothing like it in the history of war. It abolished the proverb that the pen is mightier than the sword, for every true northern sword was a pen and every bayonet a blackboard pointer. The religious and other benevolent associations, also concentrated their

influence chiefly upon the establishment of schools. The military State governments, the early abolition of which was such a disaster to the South, fostered and encouraged the schools, which had become numerous and well systematized.

When the military governments were discontinued and the southern people were left to themselves, with full power to build for themselves, with the ballot in their own hands, and not in the hands of the colored men at all, *then* the fruits of the simple-hearted northern trust in the good faith and good sense of the defeated slave power of the South appeared at once, and the real calamities of this country began. Until then the war had been a bloody blessing. The foolish over-confidence of the North, ignoring all the lessons of history and the principles of human nature, pressed too by the clamor of the northern democracy against interference with the sovereign rights of States, led the republican party to commit a clemency which was a crime. Such a mistake will never be repeated in the history of this country. From that day the war upon the common school, as the very citadel of free institutions, has been violently waged. Still the institution has lived, and will live, unless the people of the whole country abandon the South to her fate by restoring the democratic party to power in the General Government.

With this preliminary general outline I ask attention to the following extracts, which I have selected wholly, as I believe, from the most reliable authorities, mostly official, purposely excluding details of violence and crime, because I do not wish to excite the feelings, but appealing only to facts, figures, and results, which are the cold steel of argument, to attract attention to the course and tendency of events in the mass, and exhibit, not the animus of individuals, but the settled policy of southern democratic thought. If one-half the colored population had been murdered by the Ku-Klux, stimulated by *aimless* violence, or if the slaughter at Hamburg was the ebullition of sporadic crime, and not of the madness which has method, and is based upon cool calculation of a vast and profound political policy, no patriotic American need despair of the Republic. The common school would cure it all, and the next generation would be a prosperous, peaceful, and happy people. But the case is otherwise.

Senator Pease, of Mississippi, delivered a speech in the United States Senate, January 26, 1875, from which I make the following extract. Senator Pease was also State superintendent of public instruction for Mississippi:

"I desire to refer the Senate to the condition of education in the Southern States, and I take this occasion to say that in almost every instance (and I know whereof I affirm, because I have had the honor to be connected with the educational interests of the South) when those States were reconstructed there was no such thing as an efficient school system in the South, and in many southern States there was no such thing known. These States had, with scarcely an exception, no school laws, and when they had they were practically inoperative, but immediately af-

ter reconstruction, in those States which were under republican administration, school-houses were built, educational facilities were provided for the blacks and whites alike.

"When the State of Mississippi was reconstructed there was not a single free school in the State. Under republican administration, in three years over two thousand school-houses were built and over three thousand schools were organized. Nearly one hundred thousand children were receiving tuition in the schools under the patronage of a republican administration. The same was true of Tennessee in 1868; but when the power passed from the republican party into the hands of the democracy one of their first acts was to close the schools. The schools were broken up, and not until quite recently have the people of Tennessee paid any attention to the revival of their school system. This was true also of Georgia. Under republican rule schools were established. As soon as the State passed into the hands of the democrats the schools were practically abolished; and they have to-day a merely nominal school system. I undertake to say that the different benevolent and educational associations in the North have contributed more money to support the education of the colored children and the white children in the State of Georgia than the democratic party has ever contributed during the whole history of that State. The same is true of Texas. The amount of the Peabody fund distributed in the South since the war is \$3,500,000. The contributions for *educational* purposes at the South by the American Missionary Association of the North since the war have amounted to \$1,663,000. The General Government expended through the Freedmen's Bureau nearly \$6,000,000 for educational purposes in the South. During the last ten years the same benevolence has contributed, aside from the Peabody gift, over \$8,000,000 for southern education; and nearly all these contributions have come from republican sources. In the State of Mississippi, when the democratic party began to feel that they were coming again into power and the ku-klux organizations were being formed, instead as the honorable Senator would have us believe that the southern people were anxious to educate the negro and the masses of the people, the ku-klux democracy burned our school-houses. Over fifty school-houses, including church buildings used for schools by the negroes, were burned in Mississippi by these lawless bands; and it is the same class of men who are foremost in the white-league movement to-day."

I would add to the above that from the best data which I have been able to get the aggregate sum expended by the General Government and by northern benevolence to support free white and colored schools at the South since the war is not less than \$15,000,000. The record of the Methodist, Baptist, Congregational, and other religious denominations in the great effort to save southern society exhibits all the zeal of the early martyrs, combined with the largest wisdom which patriotism, piety, and statesmanship could devise. The report of the Committee upon Affairs in the late Insurrectionary States, which is a document of the highest historic value, on page 279 states that on the 31st day of October, 1865, in the various southern States five hundred and sixty schools

had been already established among the freedmen, and quoting from a report of General Alvord, gives his conclusion as follows: "That the experiment of educating the freedmen proves to be successful and the ignorant whites may be greatly benefited." The committee then proposes the following question:

"Were the old leaders who were forming State constitutions ignorant of this great movement?"

Which they answer thus:

"No; but they feared its effects. Having prevented the slave and the free negroes from coming to the light of knowledge by penal statutes, and having seen many learning to read and write in spite of their prohibitions, sometimes at the risk of life and limb, for in some States persistence in learning to read and write has cost the slave his thumb, while in others he has pursued knowledge even unto death; and seeing this great movement of thousands of freedmen, women, and children alarmed them and shocked their prejudices, they found it would destroy the value of negro labor. From Georgia it was reported in 1865 that most of the white residents of this section took ground against schools for the education of the freed people, not only as labor lost, but some held that it was injurious to all working classes to be taught from books. In many places the education of the freedmen was forcibly resisted even to burning school-houses and killing teachers."

On page 83 the committee says:

"The adoption of the fifteenth amendment, having made the ballot secure against the spirit which opposed the thirteenth and rejected as far as it could the fourteenth amendment, presented the colored man clothed with freedom, citizenship, and the ballot. The organization of 1866, animated by the spirit and composed of the material already mentioned, had developed in the opposite direction; and in 1870 and 1871 it rode into Eutaw, Alabama, and murdered Boyd for seeking to punish by law the crime of colored men. It pursued the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church in that State because of their loyalty. In North Carolina it hung Wyatt Outlow for no other offense than opposition to the Ku-Klux and barbarously whipped Mr. Justice for exercising his political rights. In South Carolina it tortured Elias Hill for preaching the Gospel to his race, *for educating their children*, for leading them in their political interests and business. It assembled in force, armed and disguised, to prevent the execution of a writ of *habeas corpus* in Union County issued to secure ten negroes charged with murder for lawful trial, and hanged them without trial. In Mississippi it destroyed school-houses and drove away school-teachers. In Georgia, and indeed in all the States examined into, it committed murders, whippings, and outrages so numerous and so horrible, that one of the retained defenders of the perpetrators (Hon. Reverdy Johnson) has honored his own nature and denounced the existence of these enormities by declaring that in South Carolina 'they are shocking to humanity; they admit neither of justification nor excuse; they violate every obligation which law and nature impose upon men.'"

And the policy thus portrayed has continued

actively in force ever since, and has within a few days been most bloodily illustrated, reinforced, and clinched by the dastardly and wholesale murder on the unholy soil of Hamburg, of regular soldiers of the State of South Carolina, by the assignees of the Ku-Klux, because they paraded to celebrate *our* centennial Fourth of July.

I now ask attention to the condition of several of the States, from which the general condition of education at the South may be inferred.

GEORGIA.

The following extract from the correspondence of the New York Times is the result of the observation of a gentleman of very high character. He writes from Savannah, Georgia, under date of October 26, 1873 :

"Instead of extending assistance to the weak and lowly, a system of rigorous repression in all forms and everywhere is operated and more or less rigidly enforced by the lovers of the 'lost cause.' They cut off the poor white and black alike from the benefit of schools, yet were their professions of appreciation of the necessity of education listened to one would suppose that no expense would be spared to educate all classes, for they base all their violent opposition to negro suffrage upon the grounds of negro ignorance. But they have not shown themselves content to withhold assistance and encouragement to the needy. In case of the negroes they caused their school-houses to be burned and their teachers to be driven off until Congress made that too dangerous a business. In this State the laws imposing poll-taxes, sacredly set apart by our constitution for school purposes, are executed with harshness against the negroes, but it is done simply because the payment of that tax is a prerequisite for voting; for the enforcement is only attempted at elections in the infliction of the penalty of disfranchisement upon colored voters, while non-taxpaying whites vote unquestioned. Often with all this fierce zeal to collect the school-tax no public schools exist, and the poor of all classes are left to grow up in ignorance, notwithstanding the price paid to defray the expense of their education is made instrumental in disfranchising their fathers.

"A word might not be amiss as to the extent of this enforced ignorance. Statistics cannot tell the whole truth, but they disclose enough to alarm philanthropists and patriots. They inform us that during the year 1870, in Georgia, only 67,000 white and 10,000 colored children—77,000 of both races—between the ages of five and eighteen years, saw the inside of school-houses out of the whole number of 407,000 children in the State. During the next year, 1871, the whole number of children reported is 425,000; only 53,551 of all sorts pretended to go to school, and these averaged only two and a half months for each child during the entire year. *This ignorance is not only winked at by leading southerners, it is enforced by them and their followers.*

* * * * *

"Outside a few cities no pretense of schooling children is made at all.

"It may be asked what advantage do the dominant race expect to derive from the ignorance thus supplied? It may as well be asked how could ignorance on the

part of the slaves be beneficial to the masters in the days of slavery? It enables the old master class to secure to themselves the benefit of the proceeds of the negro's labor with almost as little compensation as in *ante bellum* times; to bind them hand and foot under the appearance of law, and still to exclude the negroes from the privilege, to any beneficial extent, of the elective franchise, while admitting them to that privilege to a degree, as the leaders fondly suppose, sufficient to quiet the apprehension of the nation on this all-important subject, and finally to control at once the labor and political power of the South.

"That the old leaders of the South have a deep-seated purpose to control labor by a system of laws no one who has pretended to watch their conduct can for a moment doubt. They talk it everywhere and write it in all their papers.

* * * * *

"The governor of the State declared a short time ago in a public address that 'labor must be controlled by law. We may hold inviolate every law of the United States and still so legislate upon our labor system as to retain our old plantation system or in lieu of that establish a baronial one.'"

[*Extract from the letter of a prominent educator living in Georgia.*]

—, April 10, 1876.

"DEAR SIR: * * * I have had charge of the principal male school in this place since 1855, but am not now teaching on account of the failure of my sight. * * * From a familiarity with the standard and progress of education in Middle Georgia for thirty years, twenty-five of which I have spent in laborious teaching, I ought to have a correct opinion of the present status as compared with the past. *I regret the necessity of reporting to you, after a life nearly spent in earnest labor opening views to the young on the fields of science, that the standard of education in all our common schools is lowering.* * * * *The next census will show more white adults in Georgia unable to read and write than did that of the last decade.* * * * The colored people as a whole are more ignorant and superstitious than they were the day of their emancipation, because less in contact with the educated whites, and though a few of them have surprisingly improved their opportunities, the mass of them must of necessity ever be the wards of the nation."

ARKANSAS.

Hon. Thomas Smith, superintendent of public instruction, in his report for 1871 and 1872 to the governor and General Assembly of Arkansas, says :

"At the last session of the General Assembly I submitted a report covering the time from the inauguration of the present free-school system up to the 30th September, 1870, embracing a period of something over two years. During that time the system had been put in successful operation; many difficulties had been surmounted * * * and schools had been established in nearly every county in the State. The work of organizing school districts had progressed until most of the townships contained one

or more, and many rude but comfortable school-houses had already been built for the accommodation of the several neighborhoods, * * * and many teachers had been attracted hither from the older States by the new and interesting field opened up to educational effort by the inauguration of the free-school system in our State."

He then explains a recent law of the General Assembly, the passage of which was procured by the "enemies of free schools," which reduced taxation for the support of schools and authorized its payment in a depreciated interest-bearing scrip, and adds:

"The consequence was the school fund, both State and district, was paid into the State and county treasury, mostly in this kind of depreciated paper, worth but little more during the year past than half its par value. This, of course, reduced the school fund to about half what it would have been in currency * * * which so crippled a large portion of the districts that it was impossible to support even a three months' school. Teachers * * * became disheartened and disgusted and have left the State, and our schools have been deprived of many of our most valuable teachers. The object in thus dwelling upon the mistaken policy of the Legislature is to show how the course pursued has served to embarrass and well-nigh destroy our free-school system of education, which had been so auspiciously inaugurated and so successfully carried forward during the first two years of its history."

LOUISIANA.

Referring to the democratic party, Hon. T. W. Conway, State superintendent of education of Louisiana, says in his report of 1871, page 45:

"The antagonism of a portion of the press and of a powerful class of the people to the constitutional provisions which control this work (that of education) is too well known to require more than a passing allusion. The opposition thus inspired has come from a class of men who prefer that the blight of ignorance should wither the strength of the State rather than the benefits of education should be extended under the law and constitution as they now exist. Unable to emancipate themselves from irrational prejudice, by which both intellect and conscience have been mastered, and haunted by the phantoms of a *regime* which has forever passed away, they have *maintained an opposition, active or passive, as circumstances would allow, to every advancing step which has been taken.*"

His own italics.

In his report for 1873, page 50, Hon. William G. Brown, State superintendent, in the spirit of the martyr who dies triumphant in the flames, after enumerating the obstacles to be surmounted, breaks forth in the following eloquent strain:

"The crusade against ignorance, bigotry, superstition, and caste inaugurated in the South must be carried forward. No one that reads the signs of the times or that surveys the work of the forces of education and estimates the value of the citadels taken and territory occupied can doubt for one moment the

result. It were better for the enemies of education in the South that millstones were hanged about their necks and they cast into the depths of the sea, because the awakening from the delusion which prompts their opposition will be almost as fearful as that which tormented Dives."

In August, 1875, the honorable superintendent, the same Professor W. G. Brown, in a public lecture upon education in the South in general, and especially in Louisiana, remarked that—

"Previous to the war there was no established system of instruction in nine or ten of the Southern States. What schools there were were conducted exclusively for white children. It was only after reconstruction, when the republican party had assumed control, that there was such a thing as general schools. This consummation was the effect of republican rule. The democratic party, there as elsewhere, were against the spread of intelligence through the colored race. The schools of the South had been opened with but scanty means for their support, and under the most tremendous opposition. A large portion of the tax-payers would have nothing to do with mixed schools. The native whites in many sections were bitterly opposed to them. In several of the Southern States the constitutions prohibited the establishment of *separate* schools. In Texas the public-school system was abolished immediately upon the accession of the democratic party to power. In Alabama and Arkansas we find substantially the same thing. In Louisiana, Mississippi, Florida, and South Carolina, where educational interests were under the control of the republican party, progress was being made notwithstanding all discouragements. In North Carolina, Virginia, and Kentucky, on the other hand, where the schools were made separate by the law and constitution, there was but little progress made."

And again Mr. Conway states, in report of 1871, page 123:

"In my last inspection tour to which I have referred I visited a community of over twelve hundred inhabitants where I was informed a Christian minister had never been except a Catholic priest, and he had been there but once for over a year. I further assert that I do not believe six persons could be found there, excepting three teachers who had been sent there in charge of schools, who could read and write in any language, or that a particle of printed matter, not even the Bible, could be found in one of their houses, except the school-books that had been recently sent there for the use of pupils."

TENNESSEE.

Upon authority of Hon. John M. Fleming, State superintendent of public instruction, and Hon. J. B. Killebrew, January, 1873, report of 1873, page 371, they say:

"In the public mind, respectability does not attach to public schools, and, except in those cities which have established schools of such transcendent merit as to compel the discontinuance of private schools, no correct idea of a well-founded system prevails in the State."

The report of the commissioner of education who organized the common schools of Tennessee prior to 1870 with great efficiency and success, and in the face of all obstacles which ignorance, prejudice, and caste power could present, shows that when the schools were becoming highly prosperous and 185,000 children were already receiving instruction in them, having recovered power in the State the democratic party abolished the whole system and substantially destroyed the schools. But the seed sown had taken root, and an awakened public sentiment among the people has compelled the restoration of the leading features of the system.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

In his report for the year 1873, Hon. J. K. Jilison, superintendent of public instruction, referring to the attitude of the press, observes:

"In many instances the public press of this State has treated our free common-school-system with contempt, injustice, ridicule, and unfairness. Every public enterprise and interest ought always to be open to the fair and just criticisms of a fearless, independent, and incorruptible public press. Abuse and misrepresentation cannot, however, be palmed off as criticism upon an intelligent community. There are within our borders a few bright and shining examples of a hireling and partisan press which in the good times to come * * * will only be remembered and regarded as relics of a past era of journalistic barbarism."

In passing, I propose to the House and to the American people this question: Who ever heard of a republican newspaper or of a republican citizen North or South that was opposed to the cause of popular education?

MISSISSIPPI.

Hon. H. R. Pease, superintendent of public instruction, in his report of 1873, and page 214 of report of Commissioner of Education, says:

"Alluding to the mismanagement for forty years of the school lands bequeathed to the State for educational purposes by the General Government, to the unlawful diversion of the school funds to other than school purposes, and the irretrievable loss of millions of this sacred endowment to the people's schools on account of improper legislation and supervision, I wish to say that had a proper financial policy been pursued the school land fund alone would now afford revenue sufficient to support a system of free schools with ample facilities for the instruction of all the youth of the State."

In his report for 1874 Hon. T. W. Cardozo remarks:

"Considering the great opposition which the system has had to encounter from a vast majority of the intelligent portion of our inhabitants and the great breadth of its operations, we have every reason to congratulate ourselves that the public schools of Mississippi are now rapidly growing into popular favor and are among the established branches of our government."

It seems that they were growing too rapidly

to suit the "intelligent portion" of the community, and since the white-line democracy reconquered the State there is a different report from the free schools of Mississippi.

The following letter is from the pen of a gentleman of high character who has been closely allied with the government and educational interests of Mississippi since 1865. He was chairman of the house committee on education in that State for several years:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 29, 1876.

"DEAR SIR: In reply to your inquiries about the public schools of Mississippi under the present democratic government, I answer as follows: The republicans organized the first general free-school system in 1870. The law was amended and improved in 1873. The average amount expended annually was about \$600,000, or in 1872, \$683,784, and in 1874, \$602,481. This sum furnished schools only about five months in the year to not exceeding three-fourths of the children of school age, and was obtained by a general tax levied for that purpose on the taxable property of the State, including the poll-tax. The system was made efficient by thorough supervision, and probably no State in the Union ever witnessed better results from the expenditure of the same amount of money.

"By an amendment to the Constitution adopted by the republicans, the proceeds of liquor licenses, fines &c., amounting to about \$150,000 annually, becomes available this year for immediate use, instead of going into a permanent fund as heretofore, allowing only the interest thereon to be expended. The democratic Legislature has abolished the general tax of two mills, and has provided for no certain fund but the amount last stated. The law, however, provides that the counties may levy a tax to make up the deficit in the teachers' fund, but as the law also limits the aggregate State and county taxes to \$16.50 in the thousand dollars in valuation, the taxes for State and county general purposes will, in most instances, come up to this figure, which will leave the schools without money. The fund provided by the Legislature will not maintain schools exceeding a month and a half during the year. The law also says that 'if the proceeds of fines, licenses, &c., do not equal the two-mill tax formerly levied, the deficit shall be supplied by transferring a sufficient amount from the general fund to the school fund,' but this is only a blind, inasmuch as the 'general fund' is scarcely adequate to meet the running expenses of the government, and it must have been known when the law was enacted that there would be no *surplus*. The next damaging blow to the system is the virtual abolishment of the office of county superintendent. The republicans regarded efficient supervision of the schools as of the first importance, and exacted much patient service of their superintendents. They were paid an average salary of \$800 per annum. The late (democratic) act cuts down the salaries to just one-fifth of what was formerly paid, fixing the maximum at \$270 per annum and the minimum at

\$60 per annum. When it is remembered that some counties are thirty by forty miles square and have as many as one hundred and twenty-five schools, it will be seen that the pay proposed amounts to nothing. No capable man can afford to accept the office and take its responsibilities. The provision to pay teachers is as follows:

"The county superintendent and board of supervisors shall, at the beginning of each school year, fix a maximum salary for teachers which shall not be more than \$40 for each school with an average daily attendance of twenty-five or more pupils, and in schools where the average daily attendance is less than twenty-five the amount paid shall not exceed eight cents per day for the actual attendance of each pupil."

"This paltry compensation, with the almost absolute certainty that the pay warrant, when drawn, will be against an empty treasury, and the consequent sacrifice of the protested paper at some broker's office at 25 per cent. discount, will drive all the really competent teachers back into private schools, and the public school system will come generally into disrepute and worthlessness."

"In conclusion, the democrats have committed the fraud of preserving the appearance of a free-school system on paper, while practically it is lifeless, and will about as completely leave the people without schools as if they had repealed and abolished all laws on the subject."

"Truly yours,

"H. T. FISHER."

"Hon. H. W. BLAIR,

"House of Representatives."

The following letter is from Ex-Governor Powers, of Mississippi:

"WASHINGTON, D. C., July 29, 1876.

"SIR: In reply to your note received to-day, I have to say that I was the presiding officer of the senate during the first and second sessions of the Legislature of Mississippi held after reconstruction in 1870, 1871, and 1872. In carrying into effect the provisions of our State constitution, which required the establishing of a system of free public schools, a just and fair bill was, after much deliberation and care, matured, the democrats participating, and the bill was in many instances amended to suit their views; but when it came to final passage every member of that party in both branches of the Legislature voted against it. At that time the entire democratic press of the State, with perhaps one or two exceptions, bitterly opposed the establishment of the common-school system, and declared it wrong in principle to tax the property of the white man to educate the children of the colored man. Subsequent to this, during the summer of 1871, democratic conventions in several counties of the State, namely, Newton, Choctaw, Winston, and others, passed resolutions denouncing free schools. In those counties where the opposition to the system was the bitterest, school-houses, constructed in accordance with law, were burned. In Winston, not only were school-houses burned, but churches also, for the avowed reason that they were used for the purposes of free schools."

This opposition on the part of the democracy of Mississippi to the free-school system, while it has in some measure modified, has not ceased, as is proven by the fact that the present Legislature, at its last session, failed to levy a direct tax, as had been previously done by republican Legislatures, for the support and maintenance of common schools, leaving therefor only such sums as accrue from sale of lands, liquor licenses, and fines; an amount in the aggregate totally inadequate to the purpose. There was also left on hand by the republicans about \$66,000 in the treasury.

"The law was in other respects materially changed, the result of which, if persisted in, must be to destroy the entire free-school system of the State."

"I am, sir, yours respectfully,

"R. C. POWERS,

"Ex-Governor of Mississippi."

"Hon. H. W. BLAIR,

"New Hampshire."

TEXAS.

Hon. J. C. De Gress, State superintendent of public instruction, in his report to the Commissioner of Education, says:

"In May, 1873, the State Legislature abolished the school law which had been in operation since 1871, and passed another, of which the governor of the State says, in declining to approve the act, page 383:

"The constitution (article 9, section 4) directs the Legislature to establish a uniform system of free schools throughout the State; but this act, though in its title it proposes to establish such a system, in reality does away with all systems."

It, however, became a law notwithstanding the opposition of the governor. And William Alexander, attorney-general of the State, says, page 384:

"After careful study of the school law of May 22, 1873, I am forced to conclude that so many of its provisions are unconstitutional, while others are impracticable, that it cannot be put into operation."

And of its practical effect the State superintendent says:

"The last Legislature enacted a new school law, repealing the old one, and in effect abolishing our rapidly growing system of common schools. Under this law no uniform system of public free schools as required by the State constitution can be established; in fact the poor, to whom alone the free schools are to be opened, can never under it be educated. * * * In short, the old pauper law of the State is being substantially re-enacted. The school fund is hence likely to be given away to private institutions of learning, while those who are unable to pay for the tuition of their children and who are too proud to acknowledge themselves paupers will be deprived of an education solemnly guaranteed to them by the constitution of the State and indorsed by the Congress of the United States."

"The public domain (of the State) on the 31st day of August, 1872, consisted of 88,842.704½ acres

of land, the proceeds of which were, by section 6, article 9, of the State constitution, to become a part of the common-school fund, but the last Legislature gave away one-half of such lands to corporations."

And the Attorney-General further says in his official opinion :

" Besides, the constitution enacts that no law shall ever be made appropriating such (school) fund for any other use or purpose whatever, and the Congress of the United States guaranteed this enactment by providing that the constitution of Texas shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the constitution of said State."

This was a fundamental condition upon which the State was restored "to its practical relations" with the Union. I also quote the following from the Waco Register, showing how the Texas democracy has destroyed the public schools by attempted constitutional enactment in violation of the fundamental conditions of her restoration to the Union :

" Our Texas democratic governor, Coke, who has been elected by the Legislature to the United States Senate, may not be able to get into that body. He has been elected under a constitution in violation of the act of Congress admitting the State to representation in Congress. The act of Congress of which we speak (act of 30th of March, 1870, United States Statutes, volume 16, page 80) says, 'The performance of these several acts in good faith is a condition precedent to the representation of the State (of Texas) in Congress.' It also says, 'That the State of Texas is *admitted to representation* in Congress as one of the States of the Union upon the following *fundamental* conditions,' namely, * * * 'Third, that the constitution of Texas shall never be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the school rights and privileges secured by the constitution of said State.' Now the constitution has been so changed as to deprive citizens of the school rights enumerated.

" The late constitution provided for public schools for at least four months in the year, and also that 'one-fourth of the annual revenue derivable from taxation shall be levied and collected for the benefit of public schools.'

" The new constitution (under which Coke has been elected to the Senate) does not make it obligatory upon the State government to levy, collect, or set apart one cent of the revenue derivable from taxation to schools.

" The constitution under which Coke has been elected is right in the face of the act of Congress under which all our Texas Senators and Representatives have been admitted up to this time since the war, including Senators HAMILTON, Flanagan, MAXEY, and all the Representatives."

The following is taken from the leading republican paper in Texas. Mr. Chase, the editor, is a native of New Hampshire, and a gentleman of high character and thoroughly acquainted with that of which he affirms :

ANSWER TO INQUIRIES.

" WASHINGTON, D. C., July 10, 1876.

" DEAR SIR: Will you please inform me what the exact status is of your free-school system under democratic management? What does the present law provide for? What amount of money or taxes, and what is the educational condition under the democratic administration? I see you have or are to have a new law on this subject. Did not the democrats abolish free schools when they came into power? What is the character of the school trust fund? What have they done with it? I should also like to know what your rate of taxation is and the condition of your State finances.

" — — — — —"

" W. R. CHASE,

" Waco, Texas.

" We have concluded to publish our reply to the above :

" 1. There are no free schools in the State ; at least, we are aware of none either in this section or elsewhere in this State.

" 2 'The present law' provides for nothing which supports schools. The present law sets apart alternate sections of State public lands to schools, but money is not realized from these nor expected to be realized sufficient to support a system of public schools.

" 3. No money derived from taxation is set apart for schools under the democratic administration.

" 4. Yes, the democrats abolished free schools when they came into power. We had a good free-school system and in excellent operation under our republican administration, and under which the children of the State were being educated. Under our constitution (republican) all the public lands and one-fourth of the revenue of the State derived from taxation were set apart to schools and the constitution made it obligatory upon the Legislature to provide free schools for not less than four months in the year. When the democrats came in they abolished this constitution and have put one in its place which sets apart only one-half the public lands to schools and does not make it obligatory upon the State government to set apart a cent of the money derived from taxes to schools. Under this (democratic) constitution the schools have gone down.

" 5. The school trust funds were in United States bonds ; but the democratic Legislature has just ordered these bonds to be sold for the money, with which they will pay themselves for their services and issue their own (State) depreciated bonds to be put in the place of the United States bonds. The transaction is simply a robbery from the school fund.

" 6. Taxes have been heavier every year under democratic administration than they were any year under republican administration and have increased from year to year. The rate may be no higher but more things are taxed.

" 7. The condition of our State finances is that the legislative finance committee has just reported a deficiency of the rise of \$300,000 of taxes to meet current expenses of the State government. The comptroller asserts this defi-

ciency to be \$500,000. The State has been steadily run in debt at the rate of about a million of dollars a year since the present administration came into power."

DELAWARE AND KENTUCKY.

The animus of the original slave democracy toward free schools is clearly seen in Delaware and Kentucky, where they have constantly been in power before, during, and since the war. In neither of these States does the law permit any portion of the tax levied upon property of the whites to be appropriated to the education of colored children, and as the colored people have very little property the enforced ignorance of their children may be imagined possibly but not described.

North Carolina raises less than \$1, and I am informed only fifty cents each to educate her children, while Massachusetts, not educating hers as well by any means as she ought, expends \$22 annually.

It is no excuse that a State is *poor*. There is no industry so productive as the cultivation of the mind, and there is no way to material wealth so sure and rapid.

PROGRESS OF PAPAL INFLUENCE AT THE SOUTH.

There is still another powerful source of danger to the schools, and that is the undoubted alliance between the policy of southern politicians, and that of the Romish propagandists in this country. It will be remembered that the only foreign potentate who recognized the confederacy was the Pope. Both seek a common end, *power*; the one temporal, the other both temporal and spiritual. And even if there is no formal secret alliance between the caste and the hierarchy there is the same tendency to practical subordination of the people; the one leading to an ignorant subserviency and the other to an *educated* subserviency, if I may so express myself. The papal church is alert to the fact that nowhere else on earth is there such a field for the cultivation of *power* as in the Southern States. Whoever holds them in a body, by dividing the North and West, can rule the country. Whoever rules the country will control this hemisphere, and in one century hence will govern the globe. Indications are not wanting that, alarmed by the aroused indignation of the North at the effort to divide the school money there for sectarian uses, the wily Jesuits are changing the ground of their attack to the defenseless ignorance of the South, where, with no obstacles and slight competition, they may build broad and deep the foundations of spiritual and temporal power.

A recent issue of the Montgomery (Alabama) Advertiser remarks:

"The Catholic Church is making a determined effort to extend their educational work at the South. The headquarters of this work are in Baltimore, where the priests, nuns, and sisters from abroad report, and are detailed to various parts of the South. New schools for colored children are to be immediately opened, as follows: ten in Georgia, fifteen in Alabama, fifteen in Mississippi, and twenty-five in Louisiana. These

schools will offer board and tuition free to colored young men and women."

While nothing is more common than hostility, and even violence, to the free Protestant or public schools and their teachers, who ever has known of any systematic or even casual violence or opposition to a Catholic school at the South? But I can only suggest this topic; and I desire most emphatically to say that if the country will not supply him with anything better, then, by all means, let the Southern child seek knowledge and discipline in the schools provided for him by the Catholic church. Better anything than the savage state; and what lover of his country can neglect his duty to vote for free schools, and then condemn the magnificent charity of the Catholic church, whether her motive be benevolence or power, or both.

I have thus, sir, at great length but without producing a tithe of the immense mass of evidence, which exists and rises from thirteen States of this Union in the face of Heaven, like the poisoned exhalations of the dismal swamp, endeavored to arrest the attention of the House, and fix it upon the danger to the Republic and to humanity, which arises from the great and growing predominance of the ignorant, and consequently weak and vicious elements, in the land. And, sir, I protest here and now, that the issue upon the schools involves their existence as a system, and that the schools are the only sure bulwarks of our liberties. I protest that neither false issues, nor secondary issues, shall be elevated into absorbing importance in this campaign. The school question in the South is comparatively the only question involved in this presidential election. It leaps over all the interests of this generation and grasps the fate of millions yet to be.

There has been no crisis like this in our political affairs since Gettysburgh. Never since then, has there been a season of more doubt and danger of the loss of the control of the country, by the republican party. Not because the party is corrupt or weak, or has failed in its mission; but because the grinding burdens of the rebellion and the incessant hostility of the democratic party, both North and South, to peaceable acquiescence in the logical results of the war, and the incessant reiteration of false and defamatory charges of personal and official corruption, everywhere, and especially against upright and patriotic representative men of the republican party, which republicans have failed properly to resent, forgetting, that in defending the men who are assailed only because they represent our cause, we defend the cause itself, together with all the bickerings, jealousies, and unpatriotic rivalries, which to some extent have necessarily arisen during sixteen years of tremendous power and responsibility, with some actual malfeasance among the trusted officials of the country, although there never has been so little official corruption and dishonor, or so much of strict integrity and high purpose in the administration of any other government, nor of this Government, as since the republican party has controlled it. These, with other causes, have conspired to create among the

people a feeling of unrest and disquiet, which may obscure the startling consequences involved. A pestiferous demagogery, a false pretense to personal and political virtue and capacity, and deafening shouts for "peace, peace," at the South, when there is no peace but in the grave; for Tammany and reform, for Hendricks and hard money, for Tilden, resumption, and repeal, ring throughout the country and split the ears of the people. Thus it is hoped to divert public attention from the nature of this contest and to wheedle the American people out of the only guarantee of its liberties—the common school. This is not the purpose of the mass of the democratic party either North or South; for at the South with increasing intelligence there will develop a great white republican party from that splendid yeomanry which furnished the blood, as the slave power did the policy and disciplined intellect of the war. These people, now so ignorant of their interests and of their rights, will, if once the common school breaks through the obstacles which supervene between them, become the staunchest friends of both the schools and of the great northern republican party which they now so ignorantly defame, being exceeding mad against us and verily believing that they are doing God's service; and in these men is the hope of the South. At the North a democrat has the same interest for his child as a republican, though blindly he gropes after the light which the republican has long since found. But however honest may be the masses of the democratic party everywhere—for masses of men are always honest—the policy of the party leaders will conduct both it and the country to ruin.

To be forewarned is to be forearmed. If it is true that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, there was never a time when its exercise was more important. A false step now, when there is so much to concentrate attention upon ourselves, and the distresses, partly real and partly fancied, of to-day, will be calamitous and perhaps without remedy.

The democratic party has been an agency of fraud and destruction for thirty years. Out of the national ruin and dishonor, with which it piled the land, has grown up the republican party, under the inspiration of Heaven, to recreate and restore. The one represents the affirmative of every evil, and the negative of every good proposition, in our politics: State-rights, discredit to our national promises, which its own treason compelled us to pledge by billions in the markets of the world, the insidious destruction or the emasculation of the free schools, and the restoration of the caste power of the South, to curse all sections once more, and enthrone upon the backs of freemen a landed aristocracy bloated with bonds written in their blood. The other is the party of progress, reform, freedom. It has youth, inspiration, destiny. It has already a history in whose brief record of twenty years is written the drama of ten common centuries of illustrious deeds. Hand in hand the patriarch of the Revolution and the martyr of the rebellion, shall march through the halls of the ages until time shall be no more.

The same thunderbolt of liberty which struck the earth at Marathon and Salamis, at Bannockburn and Bunker Hill, fell again at Vicksburgh and Appomattox; and the inspiration which has kindled the souls of patriots and freemen in all decisive epochs of time, and prompted great sacrifices and heroic deeds for the universal rights of man, dwells as a living fire in the hearts and the history of the republican party. To what great interest of this country, of this whole country, is it not true? What right of the weak and lowly does it not vindicate? What just privilege of the great does it not secure? When and where has the policy of the republican party swerved from the principles of universal liberty protected by law? Where are concentrated the redemptory influences of the nation? Where is the religious and reformatory press? Where is the active leadership of aggressive piety? Where is the control and the chief pecuniary support of the missionary, and higher educational institutions of the land? Let our enemies consider and let them judge how many centuries of progress would be annihilated were the men and influences which are knit together in the republican party eliminated from society and replaced with an equal mass of the democracy, which howls and hiccoughs for Tilden and reform. The two great parties are now in the valley of decision. In three months it will all be over. The time is short and the stake tremendous. It concerns not this nation alone. It involves vast consequences to the race. But to no part of mankind is it so imperatively necessary that republicanism should triumph as to our blind brethren of the South. They may and perhaps they must hate us. Human nature will not always budge; and how can the proud, imperious slave-power of the South whisper accents of love from the dust of defeat?

It is easy for us, who are victors, to forgive; but how if *we* were fallen? I for one would submit, I would be admonished by events, I would repair, I would restore, I would teach my children the new and more excellent way, I would co-operate with my conqueror in the restoration of the power and glory of my country, and would try to wear my mask in submission to the laws and in retrieving the consequences of my fault, if not my crime. I would not insult nor deny the clemency and magnanimity of the country which spared me, and which invited me to a higher and more illustrious destiny than ever before lifted itself into the possibilities of my existence; and I would do *justice* to my former foes. But that I would ever, in my secret heart, *love* them, God knows that I doubt it, neither do I expect it from the leaders of the South. But they ought to accept the inevitable. They should find vengeance and revenge in grasping every advantage which has come to them on the wings of war. Did she *only* know it, the South *conquered* at Appomattox. She conquered herself. God was on her side. He presided over both combatants, and, in the very valley of the shadow of four years of death He beat and pounded the North and South in the mortar of His providence, until He had broken in pieces the great national crime which provoked His wrath, and

gave us another fair chance in the race of national life.

Sir, it is neither possible nor desirable to forget the past, and with it the lessons which, if remembered, may save us from the return of like calamities. The rebellion was a political crime. If any considerable portion of the people of this country believe it to have been otherwise, and shall train up their children in like faith, and consequently to cherish a sentiment that the people who waged war against this Government have been wronged by their defeat, and that justice must yet be done, either by extraordinary pecuniary favors or by future political advantages, to obtain which the bonds of the Union are to be *acquiesced* in, and not to be loved for themselves, then the future of this nation is bloodier than the past. The talk of a restored Union is mockery. If the South again participates in the affairs of this Government, all the while cherishing a secret sense of burning wrong, and is here to clamor for *justice*, there is no *peace*. *Clemency* she has received. She has profited by it. But she is too proud to admit that she is *forgiven*. She has been saved from herself, from her own madness and fanaticism, however honestly and desperately she may have fought to ruin our common country, and herself most of all; and men who come here to swear to a modified oath of allegiance have no right to taunt those who represent the sentiment which alone has preserved to them, and to us all, a country worth living and dying for with *injustice* to the South. I fervently believe that the real sentiment and temper of the southern people, as a whole, does not justify the sentiment that the North has wronged the South. Peace does not lie in that direction. Neither, sir, can I entertain any respect for that other tendency which is sometimes observed, and in accordance with which northern men are encouraged to express themselves, which presents the South to us as our very desolate and sorely-stricken sister, unable to stand without support, a sickly suppliant for crumbs of comfort, without resources, without fertility, or power of recuperation.

There is no southern State to-day which is not stronger, mightier, and more blest, in her actual condition, and infinitely happier in her near future and more illustrious destiny, than before the war. Every one of them is more populous, every one of them is wealthier, more prosperous, better governed, and, in spite of terrible and disgraceful opposition, better *educated* to-day than before the war. She knows it all herself.

Even the distinguished orator from Georgia, who last winter said that the South, in her exit from this Hall, carried with her the Constitution of the country, and therefore by implication asserted that she left here nothing but a howling mob of fanatical revolutionists, who under the lead of Lincoln, Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Sumner, Wilson, Fessenden, Chase, and Stanton, and Stevens, and others, whose names are written honorably in history side by side with those of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and Hamilton, and the long roll of the conscript fathers of the Republic, *subjugated* a

wronged and weaker people, and hold them to-day in their tyrannical embrace—even he does not wish to restore the States of his section with slavery in its ancient form, which was the primal cause of all our woes.

And I again say, sir, that the South is stronger and happier for the war. She has gained infinitely more by it than has the North. Considering their relative resources, she is comparatively free from debt. Taxation, compared with the burdens imposed in my own State, is almost unknown. The expenses of her war she has never paid. Thank Providence, old England, who robbed us of our commerce and got clear of us for a paltry fifteen millions, lost a great portion of the confederate debt, and some of the northern democrats contributed their share. The liberation of the slaves, instead of being a loss, was a vast and immeasurable gain to her resources by so much as five millions of free, happy, thinking, active human souls are more valuable than so many dumb driven cattle.

Look, too, at the resources of the South. Behold her unlimited territory, almost one million square miles of the best soil created, nearly all of it available and most valuable for the purposes of civilized man; larger than the British Isles, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Germany, and Austria combined, comprising all Europe to the vast empire of the Czar; with a climate that realizes the enchanting reminiscences of the Island of the Blest, which haunts the soul in the hour of her diviner musings; with rivers for a magnificent commerce and for mechanical power beyond computation, mountains of iron and gold, valleys, plains, and savannahs waiting for the teeming millions yet to be. She is a land, sir, of marvelous prophecy. I have made some effort to know her prospects and capacities, but cannot trespass upon the House with statistical matter upon the subject to-day. But the South will support two hundred millions of people, with no more persons to the square mile than now live in Western and Central Europe. Even this is not the limit of her wonderful future; for, considering her greater natural fertility, resources, and advantages, I fully believe that our little sister, which, in the language of the song of songs as sung by the honorable gentleman from Mississippi, of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and other southern bards of the cypress order, "hath no breasts," can feed from the uprising fountains of her blessed bosom three hundred millions of souls. Sir, I am ashamed to hear the whine of these gentlemen who strive to believe that they are *poor*. In 1860 the number of hands employed as blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, joiners, painters, varnishers, masons, and stone-cutters, by the census, was in the Southern States 72,046. In 1870 the whole number was 83,237, an increase in these classes of mechanics of 11,466. The State returns show that the increased aggregate value of property from 1868 to 1874 in the State of Georgia was \$81,857,772. In Texas, per State reports, it appears that the taxable property increased in value from \$144,260,244 in 1868 to \$223,410,920 in 1874, or an increase in six years of 54 per cent., which beats the interest of the bloated bondholder of the North.

As there is great complaint of oppressive taxation at the South, which is wickedly attributed to the republican party, I think the following matter deserves attention in this connection.

By virtue of the laws of Mississippi in force before the war, and in force until quite recently, which limited taxation upon land to ten cents on every hundred dollars' worth of the value of the land to be estimated by the owner or person having possession or in charge thereof, the plantations substantially escaped taxation; and the consequence was that, the inventories of property taxable being very much smaller in amount than they should have been, the rate of taxation to the valuation of property was very high; the chief burdens of taxation were thrown upon personal property, the receipts of business, and upon individuals. The valuation of land was very seldom indeed as high as \$10 per acre, and so down to five cents. In thousands of instances it was \$1 per acre, and in that case it would take one thousand acres of land to yield one single dollar of revenue.

The Bay Saint Louis (Mississippi) Gazette, a strong democratic paper, I think in the year 1869 stated that at that time "not one-half the taxable lands in Hancock County were assessed at all, and that the assessed portion was generally rated at *five cents* per acre. By act of the democratic Legislature of Mississippi in 1865 it was provided that "all blacksmiths, bakers, butchers, brickmakers, carriage-makers, carpenters, dealers in timber, lumber, or shingles, gas companies, contractors of bridges, printers, gunsmiths, saw-mills, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, watchmakers, painters, milliners, &c., shall pay twenty-five cents on every one hundred dollars' worth of *gross* receipts, not of capital or profit, but of *gross* receipts or earnings, which is two and one-half times as much as was required of land-owners upon a basis of fifty times greater hardship; and innkeepers, apothecaries, &c., *besides their licenses*, paid \$1 on each \$100 of gross receipts. The county of Warren, including the city of Vicksburgh, is the wealthiest county in the State, and the tax-rolls show the following extraordinary state of things for the year 1869—I may be incorrect as to the year:

"Colonel Benson Blake and wife's total of taxes on 8,506 acres of the best cotton lands in the State, including a magnificent residence and the finest improvements in the county, all told, is only \$99.78.

"Colonel Joseph E. Davis, total taxes on 3,793 acres of bottom land, fronting on the Mississippi River, including the Hurricane plantation, which he recently sold for \$50,000, \$141.14.

"Heirs of General John A. Quitman, 6,810 acres of same sort of land, handsomely improved, including a plantation which was rented for \$30,000 per annum, the same year it was assessed paid tax, in all, \$184.64, making 19,101 acres of best land in the South, worth at the very least \$20 per acre, or \$382,020, paying a total tax of \$439.56."

Remember that this is the taxation which the democracy had imposed upon the *real* wealth of the South. This was the policy of the slave

power before and after the war. Look now at its policy toward labor and human beings:

Mr. Charles Peine pays, by the same records, on license and receipts of his livery stable, &c., \$1 on \$100.....	\$671	03
George & Burchett, on receipts of apothecary shop	502	85
Herrick & Dirr, photographers.....	200	00
B. Stricken, the butcher.....	224	95
Fred. Loyd, another butcher.....	243	70
Kleinmann & Beck, bricklayers, on their own work, pay.....	87	76
Philip Gilbert, shoemaker, pays.....	75	28
Bodenhard, on his soda fountain, pays.	115	88
W. P. Creecy, on salary of \$1,200 per annum as clerk in hardware store, no property but that.....	33	00
Mr. Vetch, a barber, no property but his soap, shears, and razors, pays.....	107	63
Pompey Higgins, a colored drayman, on his dray and two mules, pays	33	82
Daily and Weekly Herald pays on receipts.....	185	20
Daily and Weekly Times.....	164	80

This glaring and systematic robbery of labor by wealth, by virtue of laws enacted by the latter, has been constantly opposed by republicans, and in their new constitution I am informed that they have endeavored to remedy it by means of some "modified" or "iron-clad" oath. I now ask attention to the following tables. What has been shown in regard to undervaluation of property will be borne in mind in connection with the rate of taxation per thousand. That taxation must be very slight in such States as Mississippi if the property was properly assessed instead of being exempted in favor of the landed caste is apparent.

States.	Ratio of taxation per \$1,000.	Per head.
Nevada.....	\$26 34	\$19 30
Louisiana.....	21 85	9 71
Arkansas.....	18 33	5 91
Mississippi	17 86	4 51
Maine.....	15 36	8 53
Nebraska.....	14 83	8 35
Alabama.....	14 77	2 99
Kansas.....	14 15	7 33
South Carolina.....	13 30	3 92
New Hampshire.....	12 88	10 22
Iowa.....	12 62	7 58
California... ..	12 25	13 95
Massachusetts.....	11 68	17 10
Minnesota.....	11 57	6 02
Oregon.....	11 26	6 39
Virginia.....	11 26	3 76
Florida.....	11 23	2 64
Missouri.....	10 88	8 08
Ohio.....	10 52	8 83
Maryland.....	10 30	8 49
Illinois.....	10 28	8 59
Georgia.....	9 79	2 21
Kentucky.....	9 48	4 34

States.	Ratio of taxation per \$1,000.	Per head.
Vermont.....	\$9 07	\$6 46
West Virginia.....	9 03	3 89
North Carolina.....	9 02	2 20
Indiana.....	8 51	6 42
New Jersey.....	7 88	8 18
Connecticut.....	7 83	11 28
Wisconsin.....	7 67	5 10
Michigan.....	7 52	4 57
New York.....	7 47	11 07
Rhode Island.....	7 31	9 98
Texas.....	7 10	1 38
Tennessee.....	6 79	2 69
Pennsylvania.....	6 44	6 96
Delaware.....	4 30	3 34

Sir, the South is not *poor*, unless it is in the disposition to work and in the blind folly of her leaders. They fight destiny, and beg to be destroyed. No people ever had such an opportunity, but they will not see.

There is no country like this under the sun. Upon their million square miles of the garden of God they have 15,000,000 of their own people. They have the active, anxious, persistent, cherishing policy of the General Government which they spleenfully and stupidly and wickedly defame, deride, oppose, and endeavor to destroy. They have a love for destruction, because the gods have made them mad. They persist in a course which, if they could pursue it, would renew the war. Sometimes I think they really desire it as soon as rest, growth, and recuperation can fill their fields with armed men under the stars and bars. If such a conflict must come, may God bring it soon or avert it till I am no more.

Nothing but the defeat of the democratic party in the nation can save the South. If Tilden is elected, her supposed victory will prove her destruction. For a time she will exult. Free from restraint to the exercise of her will within her own limits, and largely so in shaping national policy, the strong reactionary tendencies, which may yield to some extent and coalesce with the prevailing forces of northern and western sentiment should the republicans retain the national administration, will in case of democratic success re-assert themselves, and southern statesmen, a few of whom now appear to have a vision of the promised land, will die, and their people will die, without the sight. A few years will consolidate the sections in hostile array of sentiment, for the North will never surrender the fruits of the struggle, and then, when the country is wealthier, more populous, mightier, there must come another war, to which the last would bear the relation of a skirmish to Waterloo.

The North may possibly endure the calamity of a democratic victory, but it will be certain ruin for this generation to the South. During the last ten years the South has really fought

by all the agency she could employ for the maintenance of her class-power. Her more advanced statesmen are beginning to see their mistake, but not fully; and still she hopes for a success, which if achieved will be destruction. Should she now fail, her leaders will fully realize that in the vain struggle to restore her former supremacy through the democratic party she is losing all the magnificent prospects which spread out before her, if she will only yield to the irresistible current of events, accept heartily the new order of things, and, by elevating her labor, rise with it to the development of a destiny, which in its grand possibilities surpasses all that poets have dreamed. But "the stars in their courses fought against Sisera," and he fell at last by a woman's hand; and why should the South any longer oppose her happier fortune and ruin everything in the vain attempt to roll the universe against the brakes of the Almighty?

I live in a smiling valley among my hardy constituents—God bless them—where the barren rocks of New England rise high into the free air of heaven, and the dews are kissed from her highest summits by the earliest light which breaks on America from the morning sun. Here generation after generation our people have fought the climate for seven months and a despotic sterility of soil during the remainder of the year. Here, too, they have grown vigorous, intelligent, virtuous, and free. New Hampshire is, by the census, the best-educated State in this Union, and I have the honor, though most unworthily, to represent the most intelligent constituency, as a whole, on the face of the globe. She sent two-thirds of the troops into action who fought and won the battle of Bunker Hill. With the co-operation of the brave Green mountaineers her Stark gave to the country the victory of Bennington. She gave you the greatest orator of time, and a monument to Washington eternal as the universe or his illustrious fame. She buried her scanty resources and her dearest sons in the golgothas of the late war as no other northern State has done. She will not see the last of her debt incurred in its prosecution paid until our grandchildren sleep the sleep that knows no waking. Her rural population is disappearing. The harvest of the war and constant drain of her hardiest sons to the illimitable West has left the summer rose to bloom in beauty and desolation by thousands of forsaken mountain homes where once clustered the tenderest affections of earth. And tears will sometimes come in the eyes of the Granite State as she looks forth from her sterility and desolation upon the vast plains and valleys of fertility and of boundless resources which lie stretched from ocean to ocean, and from the snows of Canada almost to the tropic regions of the globe, and reflects upon the blood she has shed and the treasure she has poured out and the pledge of her industry for a century, that she has signed, sealed, and delivered, and will *pay* to the last dollar, and yet beholds the blindness that would render the last state of the Union worse than the first.

It will never be. The country will not lose the fruits of the war. This election, which involves them all, can never be the means of re-

storing obsolete ideas and the enslaving policies of the past.

But I feel no hope until the South learns that she must ally herself with the strength and not with the weakness of the North.

Some time we shall understand each other,

but not yet. The republican party must again rescue the country by main strength against the combined South, yoked with the corrupt and subservient democracy of the North. If we fail, God help America!

Educational Amendment to the Constitution.

SPEECH OF HON. F. T. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY,

IN THE U. S. SENATE, AUGUST —, 1876.

AMENDMENT AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (two-thirds of each House concurring therein,) That the following be proposed to the several States of the Union as an amendment to the Constitution, namely:

“ARTICLE XVI.

“No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no money raised by taxation in any State for the support of public schools, or derived from any public fund therefor, nor any public lands devoted thereto, shall ever be under the control of any religious sect or denomination; nor shall any money so raised or lands so devoted be divided between religious sects or denominations. This article shall not vest, enlarge, or diminish legislative power in Congress.

AMENDMENT AS PASSED IN THE SENATE.

“That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the said Constitution, namely:

“ARTICLE XVI.

“No State shall make any law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; and no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under any State. No pub-

lic property and no public revenue of, nor any loan of credit by or under the authority of, the United States, or any State, Territory, District, or municipal corporation, shall be appropriated to or made or used for the support of any school, educational or other institution under the control of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or wherein the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination shall be taught. And no such particular creed or tenets shall be read or taught in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by such revenue or loan of credit; and no such appropriation or loan of credit shall be made to any religious or anti-religious sect, organization, or denomination, or to promote its interests or tenets. This article shall not be construed to prohibit the reading of the Bible in any school or institution; and it shall not have the effect to impair rights of property already vested.

“Sec. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article.”

THE SCHOOL AMENDMENT.

The Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution (H. R. No. 1) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the pending question being on its passage.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. President, before the vote is taken on this measure, I propose to state the principles involved in it, and to do so with great brevity.

There are only two principles involved in this article for the amendment of the Constitu-

tion, as passed by the House or as now amended by the Senate :

I. That there shall be no establishment of religion or prohibition of the free exercise thereof, and that there shall be no religious test as a qualification to office in the several States of the Union.

II. That the people shall not be taxed to promote the particular creed or tenets of any religious or anti-religious sect or denomination.

Let me remark that it is manifest that the people call for an amendment covering these two principles. This is manifest from the fact that the Representatives of the people of every religious and political persuasion, coming fresh from every section of the country, have by a vote of 166 out of 171 (only 5 negatives) declared that to be the will of the people. Further, sir ; on the passage by the House of this amendment, which undertook to affirm and protect these two principles, and which the people and the press, and which I assume the House of Representatives thought was effective, great gratification was afforded to the whole country, not only because of their wish that these principles should be incorporated in our fundamental law, but also because this vexed question was to be removed from the arena of party politics. The great unanimity of the vote in the House shows how strong is the conviction of the Representatives of the people that this article of amendment to the Constitution is within the legitimate province of constitutional amendments, and is also in accord with the best policy and the soundest interests of the nation. There is, sir, no room for two opinions on the two propositions that religion and conscience should be free, and that the people should not be taxed for sectarian purposes. The whole history of our country, from its origin to the present day, establishes and fortifies these positions. And nothing can be clearer than that these fundamental rights should be secured in a constitution ordained expressly to "establish justice" and to "secure the blessings of liberty."

Mr. President, while the two principles of religious freedom and exemption from taxation for sectarian purposes are plainly asserted in the articles as it comes to us from the House, there are, unfortunately, in it defects and omissions, that were it accepted without amendment by the States would render it nugatory and invalid. And the House should be gratified that a more careful scrutiny has discovered and corrected these defects, and should be ready to concur at once in the amendment of the Senate. I will point out these defects and their corrections.

The fifth article of the Constitution requires that Congress when proposing amendments to the Constitution shall state to the people in what manner the amendment shall be ratified ; whether by the Legislatures of the States or by conventions in the States ; the fifth article is as follows :

"The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for

proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress."

This article amending the Constitution as it came from the House failed to propose either mode of ratifying this amendment. It did not propose that it should be ratified by the Legislatures or that it should be ratified by conventions. Had the Legislatures ratified it, not being in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution, it would have been invalid.

I called the attention of the Senate to the first alteration the House amendment makes in our Constitution. The first amendment to the Constitution, enacted shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, provides that—

"Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

This is an inhibition on Congress, and not on the States. The House article very properly extends the prohibition of the first amendment of the Constitution to the States. But the sixth article of the old Constitution also provides that—

"No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States."

This provision, in such close harmony with the first amendment of the Constitution, the House article entirely omits, and it has very properly been inserted by the Senate and made applicable to the States. Nobody can object to the Senate amendment on account of these two positions contained in it.

Thus the article as amended by the Senate prohibits the States, for the first time, from the establishment of religion, from prohibiting its free exercise, and from making any religious test a qualification to office.

II. Now, as to the second division of the proposed article amending the Constitution relative to the use of the public money for sectarian purposes, let me say that there are six different modes by which the people can be taxed for sectarian purposes.

1. By appropriating money raised for school purposes to sectarian schools.

2. By appropriating money from the general Treasury to sectarian schools.

3. By appropriating public money to sectarian institutions other than schools, as theological institutions, sectarian colleges, monasteries, and nunneries.

4. By devoting schools or other institutions established by public funds, when so established, to sectarian purposes.

5. By making appropriations of public money to religious denominations, or to promote their interests.

6. By appropriating public money to an institution to promote infidelity or for the benefit of an anti-religious sect.

The amendment of the Senate guards against

all these abuses, while the article as it came from the House only prohibited the first, to wit, the appropriation of public money, and only public money raised for schools, to sectarian schools or dividing it among denominations.

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The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. The question is on the passage of the resolution, on which the yeas and nays have been ordered.

The Secretary proceeded to call the roll.

* * * * *

The result was announced—yeas 28, nays 16; as follows:

“YEAS—Messrs. Allison, Anthony, Booth, Boutwell, Bruce, Burnside, Cameron of Wisconsin, Christiancy, Clayton, Conkling, Cragin, Edmunds, Ferry, Frelinghuysen, Harvey, Jones of Nevada, Logan, McMillan, Mitchell, Morrill, Morton, Oglesby, Paddock, Patterson, Sargent, Spencer, Wadleigh, and West—28.

“NAYS—Messrs. Bogy, Cockrell, Cooper, Davis, Eaton, Gordon, Jones of Florida, Kelly, Kernan, Key, McCreery, McDonald, Maxey, Norwood, Randolph, and Stevenson—16.

“ABSENT—Messrs. Alcorn, Barnum, Bayard, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Conover, Dawes, Dennis, Dorsey, Goldthwaite, Hamilton, Hamlin, Hitchcock, Howe, Ingalls, Johnston, Merimon, Ransom, Robertson, Saulsbury, Sharon, Sherman, Thurman, Wallace, Whyte, Windom, Withers, and Wright—27.”

The PRESIDENT *pro tempore*. Two-thirds of the Senators present not having voted to agree to the resolution, the same is not passed.

The Senate amendment only carries out the principle and cures the defects of the article as it came from the House, but it does so effectually.

Why, sir, provide that money raised for schools shall not be appropriated to sectarian schools and leave it lawful to appropriate to sectarian schools from the general Treasury?

Why should we prohibit appropriations to sectarian schools, and yet permit schools established by the public money to be made sectarian?

Why prohibit appropriations to sectarian schools and permit money to be appropriated to sectarian institutions of another character?

Why prohibit appropriations to religious sects and permit them to be made to infidel sects?

There is no reason. And any one who could honestly and sincerely vote for the article as it came from the House should rejoice in the opportunity of voting for the Senate amendment.

Not only does the article as it came from the House merely apply to the appropriation of money raised for schools to sectarian purposes, but it omits to give Congress any power by legislation to prevent or punish the violations of the article.

The usual section conferring power on Congress by legislation to enforce an amendment is in these words:

“Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.”

But as the committee were aware that some might argue that such a section would confer on Congress the power to interfere with public schools of the States, the committee, to avoid all possible objection, have—though they were satisfied that an article so phrased would not have the effect claimed—reported a section which gives no affirmation power to Congress, but simply provides that—

“Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to provide for the prevention and punishment of violations of this article.”

This section takes the place of the strange provision of the article as it came from the House, which is in these words:

“This article shall not vest, enlarge, or diminish legislative power in Congress.”

Some have called this House article the Blaine amendment. No such provision was ever suggested by that distinguished man. He left the article to be enforced under the provisions of the original Constitution, which (article 1, section 9, placit 18) provides—

“That Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to carry into execution the foregoing powers and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States or in any department or office thereof; and this article is to be part of this Constitution.”

* * * * *